15: U.S. Navy --24 [4] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 221, 591, 438, 602

"Temporary movements. The people who move to these industrial sites [MC: i.e. developing industrial centers like Keelung, Shinchiku etc.] leave their families, or perhaps only some of the children, with the grandparents on the farms. There is a constant traffic (largely on foot) between ancestral homes in the country and the houses of sons and daughters in town. A great deal of produce is carried into the city for private consumption in this fashion, and in turn various small goods are carried out again to the country. The continuing and strong relationship between the main house and all branches of a family is of very great importance in Chinese life."

15: U.S. Navy --27 [5] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 591, 177, 554, 596

"As a usual thing Formosan-Chinese sons remain at home when they marry, bringing in their wives and rearing their children under the guidance of the eldest member of the family. Hence many individuals make up one family, living in patriarchal style. All members of the family share in the work and in the returns from the land, which is held in joint title. Some wealthy Formosans who have profited by cooperating with the Japanese have, as a matter of policy, added Japanese living quarters to their homes or attempt to live in Japanese fashion."

15: U.S. Navy--29 [11] (no date) 1944 Formosans -1
116, 585, 554, 591

"The marriage itself takes place in two ceremonies. The first consists of a solemn release of the bride from her home. In theory she ceases to be a member of her blood family. Her name is formally struck from the family records during a solemn gathering before the family altar and ancestral tablets. A last ceremonial cup of tea is drunk, a bit of rice is eaten, her name is removed and she is ready to be carried away.

If the wedding is carried out in full tradition, the bridegroom arrives at the bride's house with a suite of attendants and many colorfully prepared gifts. A closed palanquin, which is carried in over the threshold of the bride's house, is put down before her ancestral tablets. Sometimes the bridegroom sends an honored representative to act for him while he himself remains at his own home. The bride is placed in the palanquin and, in theory at least, is not expected to set foot to the earth nor be seen by anyone until she arrives at her new husband's home and is carried over the threshold. Usually one or more of the bride's family accompany her to her new home. The whole procession is strung out as long and impressively as possible along the road, with extremely noisy professional musicians to swell the numbers in the party. As many gifts as can be carried are decorated brilliantly in red paper and cloth and carried with festive cakes and other foods on open carts through the street. Great prestige is gained by a lavish display and no effort is spared to impress the neighbors with the economic well-being of both houses concerned.

15: U.S. Navy--29 [11] (no date) 1944 Formosans-2
116, 585, 554, 591

A second ceremony now is performed, during which the bride's name is entered upon the family register of the new house. Unless some disastrous thing occurs she is thereafter committed to complete obedience to the elders in the new household and to her husband.

Feasting follows, during which the bride and groom retire to their bridal chamber.

A good measure of ribaldry and earthy humor accompanies these feasts in proportion to the amount of alcohol consumed."

15: U.S. Navy--30 [5] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 595, 597, 581, 591

"If a couple is so unfortunate as to have no male issue they may resort to either or both of two practices. If the husband can afford it, a secondary wife can be taken into the home, whose male offspring will have the full status of heirs and will, in all probability, be reared by the first wife. If a secondary wife is not taken, or if there are no sons of such a union, then adoption is resorted to. The son of another family (never the first son or heir) can be adopted outright or taken as the husband of a daughter of the house. This last arrangement is preferred, for it establishes a blood connection. The new son-in-law assumes the name of his bride's house and may take up residence in it. This arrangement often results in unhappy family situations, for the adopting family is usually in much better economic circumstance than the family of the young man adopted, and he is subject to a sense of accepted social inferiority. There are, however, instances of arrangements between well-to-do friends who wish to link the fortunes of their houses."

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 AD1 Formosa AD1

587 162 without some explanation of the peculiar role of divorce in early Taiwan. But there is a common thread running through both of these problems. The negotiation of marriages has been profoundly influenced by the supply of eligible women in relation to that of men—the marriage market formerly was one in which women of marriageable age were scarce. This situation conferred several advantages on the families containing eligible girls, as against those with young men seeking marriage: (1) an excellent chance to avoid permanent spinsterhood by eventually marrying, (2) a better chance to find a partner not previously married, (3) a better chance for them to remarry, if a widow or divorced, and (4) more favorable terms on remarriage.

586 162 The premium formerly enjoyed by marriageable women supplies the best clue not only to the favorable matches open to families with adult daughters, but also to the reasons why they might afford to suffer the supposed indignity of a divorce. It has been pointed out above that Chinese tradition views divorce one-sidedly—it is something to be initiated by the husband's family, since the wedding makes the wife a member of their household, and the household is where the well-known strains attending her presence arise. But the trends in divorce cannot be explained on this basis. It would imply that husbands, or their families, provoked a profusion of divorces when their own chances of remarriage were at low ebb, and that they became less desirous of divorce as these chances improved.

The wife's parental family does not actually suspend its attachments or obligations to her upon marriage, though commentaries on the Chinese family system commonly give this impression. Her relatives are ordinarily a party to the marriage itself, and may be very alert to the connection which it establishes between the two families. They can often choose whether to let a dispute develop into a break in this connection; sometimes they ensure this turn of events by upholding her interests, or by quarreling over unfulfilled terms of the marriage agreement, whereas they would show more restraint if her chance for remarriage were not good.

58' 162 Nor is the position of the wife herself always so helpless as it is depicted. Over one-fifth of the earlier registered marriages between Taiwanese were not of the "ordinary" type at all, but were matrilocal. Though they did not all have the same standing in custom,[12]

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[12] They include three recognized forms: adoption of a future son-in-law by a girl's parents, who may then be in charge of him from childhood on; simply marrying-in by the husband; and marrying-in with apparently some restriction to his rights of inheritance. The exact distinctions are left somewhat unclear, for the terms are Japanese, and the facts Chinese. It is also likely that there were variations in procedure from one place to another.

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TABLE 69

PER CENT OF ALL REGISTERED MARRIAGES BETWEEN TAIWANESE THAT WERE MATRILOCAL, 1906-43

1906	21.8
1910	20.4
1915	18.4
1920	17.5
1925	16.1
1930	15.7
1935	9.8
1940	7.8
1943	6.2

Source: *Statistical Summary*, Table 65.

these marriages had in common the fact that the husbands entered the families of the wives, in the reverse of the pattern that was considered normal. These extraordinary marriages were a measure of necessity rather than a repudiation of tradition, for they diminished as a share of all marriages along with the major difficulties of men in finding brides. But matrilocal marriage signifies a considerable compromise with the dominance allotted to men by Chinese tradition. Where it occurs, it means that in order to maintain the rule of male descent, either the husband must be relegated to a less important position or the continuity of the wife's family must be broken. Chinese may on different occasions prefer one or the other of these alternatives, but when they resort to matrilocal marriage it is a sign that precedence has been given to continuation of the wife's family line. This solution makes the husband's status in the wife's family rest on sufferance, and cannot avoid undermining his dignity and authority.[13] The norms of patriarchal authority were not undermined, however, in the Taiwanese population as a whole: when men were no longer obliged to marry on these degrading terms, they began to shun this type of marriage (see Table 69). Because it was inconsistent with the rest of the family system, matrilocal marriage presented a special occasion for discord—men were led to expect one kind of familial role as husbands, but required to accept another one that was inferior.

[13] Further compromise is actually possible. Various devices are practiced in China, such as entering the husband on the registers of the wife's family, changing his surname to theirs, and perhaps admitting him to her inheritance, as ways to smooth over the departure from tradition in such marriages. How urgent these niceties are probably depends on the importance and wealth of the families involved—i.e., how urgently they feel the need to keep up conventional appearances.

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Evidently it is mistaken to consider divorce simply as a prerogative of the husband or his family, just because the Chinese believe that it ought to be. Several sources of friction can be found in Chinese family structure that might lead to divorce, but by their manifestations in Taiwan they point to the wife's side, and not the husband's, as having been responsible for its exceptionally high incidence. A great many of the divorces that were recorded must have been precipitated by the wife's family (if not by the wife herself), and it seems inescapable that their willingness to do so was governed largely by the opportunities to find another match for her. The patterns of marriage as well as divorce lend support to this conclusion.

The Reproductive Span of Married Life

162 582

One reason for giving attention to marriage is that it is the principal step by which people pass into adult familial roles, and thus embodies many of their ideas about the significance of these roles. It is also a matter of great interest in connection with reproductive behavior, since in all known societies some form of marriage establishes the approved social setting for bringing children into the world. From the standpoint of replacement of members in a population, however, the important thing is not simply when people first become married, but how much time they actually spend in married life. But because a particular marriage almost never lasts through the lifetime of both its immediate partners, the duration of married life cannot be precisely determined for Taiwanese. People are arriving and departing continually, and not all of them leave a sufficient trace in the sorts of demographic statistics that are usually available.

The most practical expedient for estimating the amount of time spent in marriage is to consider only those women of reproductive ages who are currently married at some particular time.[14] In Table 70 they are arranged as proportions of all women at these ages at census dates, confirming what has already been implied above—that many years were spent without their husbands by women who had been married, because widowhood and divorce were too prevalent to be cancelled out by remarriage. As women became older more of them became widows, but the percentages of women who dropped

[14] From the standpoint of demographic concepts, there is nothing inherently "better" about narrowing attention to women instead of men. The main reason for doing so here is that we have ways of estimating the fertility of women in Taiwan according to age, but not that of men. The choice of 15-49 as the age interval to use is dictated by convention, but in other populations it has been found to include nearly all cases of maternity.